123 /9 cont./ to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar [554 576] country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud [517 555] talking and laughing really occur only when several men are together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I 123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I ● 574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls [562 576] and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

576 /10 cont./ One soon learns that as a distinguished guest one cannot sit down just anywhere when entering a house. It is wrong to sit down where the lowest are supposed to sit, because then the host is ill at ease. It is conceited, and that is disliked, if one sits down directly in the highest /prestige/ side of the house. It is good since it is a token of modesty, which is appreciated, if one sits down a little lower than where one would actually be allowed to take one's place. These are all mistakes which are not held against an occasional visitor, but which will be found troublesome infractions if they occur in the routine of daily life.

574 576 One further learns that, once seated, one may not leave if something is being prepared in the kitchen. It is better to be much too late for a subsequent appointment than to offend one's host by departing. When high Dutch civil and military [648] authorities, who were present at the wedding feast of one of the grandsons of the Prince of Goa in 1741, stood up during the rather long-drawn-out meal and said farewell, people spoke disapprovingly about this occurrence for weeks after in the kampongs. The offer of refreshments is a sign on the part of the host that he wants to do his guests an honor, and an early departure hurts him.

576 I learned that to shake hands does not belong to the customary greeting ceremony. Those present during a conversation or upon departure, including the host, will as much as "touch" the [778] hand of a high guest in order by so doing to obtain something of the good and fortunate, which, after all, adheres to every higher person. A Macassarese is embarrassed by a "firm" handshake.

The statement "I am leaving now" (lampama') is customary and gives one an intimate feeling. The same applies to the question addressed to a person one encounters on the way: "Where are you coming from?" A detailed answer is not expected. Indication of the wind direction suffices. The purpose of question and answer seems merely to be the creation of an intimate atmosphere. A stranger is passed by in silence, but one remains on one's qui vive.

612 /21 cont./ group. An individual has the choice, in such a case, as to which group of relatives he wants to join, and where he wants to live and work. The genealogical /22/ tie with the other group(s) remains in existence. Knowledge of this tends to disappear after one or a few generations.

574 602 It should not be expected that one would know all one's kinsmen who live in regions remote from each other. By paying visits and extended stays, the younger generation becomes acquainted with kinsmen residing in various districts. The older ones observe them through this; their character is gauged and their marriage opportunities are discussed. It depends upon the impression made by them whether they will be more or less welcome guests at a later visit.

602 It depends upon an individual himself whether in later years he will keep up the ties established in this way. Thus, while one Makassarese, questioned about kinsmen living elsewhere, is able to refer to merely one or two districts where these are supposed to live, another one, conscious of the fact that the possession of many connections increases his social standing, declares that he has kinsmen everywhere and seems to be able to cite many names of kampongs.

Endogamy

582 612 The statement that the related group is endogamous means that a great number of marriages are by preference contracted with a kinsman, and a small number with members of other groups of relatives. The figures given below are taken from a Kapala related group, that is to say, from a segment of this group living, and therefore registered, in Bontoramba.

Of the 89 married couples belonging to the segment of the Kapala group residing in Bontoramba, man and wife are related to each other in 79 cases, and in 10 they are not (1).

1. I am following the system of degree of relationship according

593 /25 cont./ 1. Talking back is referred to as nipolongi erona, "his wishes are crossed," or anempa bawa karaëng, "to slap the mouth of the master."

listening to what his father says and by answering in general, well-chosen phrases when the father is addressed. In practice the answers which a son gives are brief because he is afraid of not being able to satisfy such obligations, and of making a mistake, which might be regarded as impolite or result in ridicule. A son above the age of fourteen accordingly does not like to be in the company of his father; the relationship is too stiff for this. When his father comes in, he disappears as quickly as possible while mumbling some excuse. When a [574] father visits his married son, the latter will call his wife or his little son. The conversation then continues through them. Important matters, such as the marriage of his daughter, may be discussed by a father with his (married) son. This, too, is a conversation held in a formal tone. But this conversation merely establishes what has already been previously discussed by the father in informal conversations with his wife or his daughter-in-law.

The same relationship can be observed between brothers. Here the older one must be obeyed by the younger. Between them the opposition is greater; the older one tries to keep the leadership; the younger, especially if his personal qualities give him the opportunity to do so, tries to avoid his brother's authority. Their relationship is also stiff. The consequence is that unmarried sons in general, and unmarried younger brothers in particular, spend a great deal of time outside the house.

This does not apply to the relationship between mother and daughter, or to that between sisters. Since younger women are [562] dependent on house and grounds and away from these can only go about in company, a similar solution would not be realistic in practice.

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
●574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
[833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

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1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscrips belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

166 /54 cont./ located in another kampong emigrated there.
591 In two cases a marriage by flight was the reason for a family
592 migration, and in two others the fact that the house became severely damaged and run down. In one case a quarrel was given as the reason, but this concerns two families in one house who were not related to each other. In another case a married couple from a neighboring adat community came to live in Bontoramba in order to work for an employer. In the remaining five cases, the motives did not become apparent (2).

2. The small number of children (35) in these 22 families is due to the fact that some of these are young families who moved into a house of their own for the first time. Two recently married silariang couples likewise had (as yet) only a few children.

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While 79 persons migrated as a family unit, 66 individuals moved to other houses. The reasons given for these changes vary a great deal. An old widower lives alternately with one of his children. An orphan goes from one uncle and aunt to the other. An old deaf-mute man lives in turn with his many -- and distant -- nephews and nieces, who prefer to see him go rather than come. The contracting of a marriage, the committing of silariang, are further reasons for changing houses. A Javanese and a poverty-stricken orphan who came to live and work with people in Bontoramba raised the number of immigrants. A sickly little boy goes to stay with his grandfather for a few weeks or months./55/ The grandfather's house, incidentally, is one minute's walk away from the boy's

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591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
[861] Experience teaches that in another environment such naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

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865 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
674 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

/144 cont./ 2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.

The spare time which women gained was not used toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls is always with them. During the rest of the time women visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense, from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and

1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia) means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
558 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
626 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
● [574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed by the generation that is now thirty-five to forty years of age or younger.

[178 276]

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with [593] monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well ●[594] entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 606 607 The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty. Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

[185 cont.]

538 merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy; He hath not dealt with us according to our sins, nor regarded us according to our inquities; for he knoweth our frame, and remembereth that we are dust" (5). One sees that parallelism is

5. Psalm 103:8, 10, and 14.

an accumulation of attributes and [186] expressions of the same idea. This is also true of the kelong and elong, which, however, in content, are similar to the Malayan pantuns in many respects, although usually prettier and also clearer. To judge: "If a drizzling rain should fall, oh pure virgin! gather its drops in the front folds of your garment, for you know that I have changed myself into a cloud and travel in that form" (1). This is clear

1. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, p. 421, col. 2, No. 8.

enough, but if the girl does not care for the young man, her answer is no less clear in the following kelong: "If you should come down as a drizzling rain, take care to avoid me. I have [539] not found it pleasant when a drizzling rain sprinkles me too often." The Buginese elong are generally just as clear as the kelong. We say generally because a peculiar language is found in many elong, known as basa to-Bakkā, that is, the language of the man of Bakkā. Bakkā is a place in Soppeng, and the man of Bakkā is a certain Datu Bakkā, Prince of Boni, who was very famous in ancient times for his great sagacity. The basa to-Bakkā is thus a kind of metaphorical language, which often consists of farfetched plays on words. Let us look at a single example. Imagine for a moment, reader, that you are in 538 Buginese country and that, tired, you arrive at the home of a 574 Buginese who welcomes you with manri mana-no = eat chicken feed. This sounds very peculiar. If you understand the basa to-Bakkā, however, it is clear enough. Chicken feed is

Makassar 006
Redjang-Lampong 0012
Batak 005

MK 538 [574] [186 cont.] principally bânni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni = spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched.

MK [539] The elong in the basa Bakkâ cannot be understood without explanation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesâssi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesâssi in the basa to-Bakkâ makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B RL 1 538 MK 538 Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak, Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called, respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one should read the sinrili No. 53 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.

MK [764 114] Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

MK [773 776]

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197]
words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaëng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favor- [114]
ably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs. Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc splits. 203 666 624 596

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave. As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-Heekeren. 778 565 574

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always accepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked between ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it appeared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling, but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong, [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa, and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later. That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general. He added that there was a press in Makassar. 872 346 494 198 435 212

C 565 634 third man in the Aru Pitu, who, together with the Arumpone and the Makadangetana, form the self-government council of the State. With them sits the Sulewatang Udjung, Minister of Information. The same general pattern holds in Wadjo and Soppeng. Each minister has a function, for example, police civil, etc. The Tomarilalang is a young fellow, tall, and good looking. He seems intelligent and quiet; though really dumb as I found out later.

C 565 557 578 I talked with the Tomarilalang about changes, for example, in clothing. I later found out from the Dutch police advisor that the Arumpone fears the Tomarilalang, and others as well, for possible intrigue. I also found out later that the Makadangetana, the old stocky fellow with a mustache who was formerly only a kampong chief, rose slowly until he became even Minister of War. So there is mobility at least within the higher class, and maybe within the middle class.

C 647 563 I talked a great deal with Thierens, a young intelligent Dutch controleur. He is sympathetic toward the native attempt, and like most Dutch now working with them seems to be of the high and democratic type. For example, Thierens asked what I thought was the case among the conservatives who still hold on in Batavia. He saw much trouble ahead for the natives, and I agree. He said that now all the Dutch here are assistants to native officials. The police advisor later said that they were advisors only. I got the idea that the old ways were completely gone. I noticed the great respectful attitude of the Dutch toward native upper classes. They are now the second men. But, as far as I could see, the natives were also very polite. At least this seems to be so in South Celebes.

M 124 291 596 609 ● 574 Next day we went to the kampong of Bukaka which is almost inside Watampone. It has a population of about 3,000. I went to the house of the Kepala kampong in my jeep with Sulewatang Udjung and Andi. Sulewatang Udjung is always well dressed. He wears an elaborate, ornate closed jacket and sarong, and on his head the horsehair and gold bordered songkok. He is an old fellow with a bad case of tuberculosis and Thierens warned him to be careful. But when I visit him he offers tea and awful gummy Buginese cake, and I must eat it. A large crowd lives in his house. There is much evidence of an extended family. He said he had eight children and thirty grandchildren. It seems that most of them are here. They are pretty good looking and rather well dressed. This is an indication of why they need political jobs. Andi, for 000 example, works in the Office of Economic Affairs. The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that

M 175 565 tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M 793 838 231 881 304 574 I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst] This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati. But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M 182 771 Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I reminded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I 181 Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friederic y. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose. 342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting? 177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna. 186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there. 778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing. 197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day. 241 262

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut
574 at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pang-kadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as langa, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some used only for fishing, others only for trade. [501]

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574 ●
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
●574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouth-wash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

although he told me that they were "his people". He said that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And even later, when they are no longer able to perform as padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry. The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot, and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, dead-pan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth. The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about before the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

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574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 588] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is general and there is not much to say. The death punishment is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

517 181 167 186 178 681 796 805 [241] 574● 852 [562] 176 874 401 403

176 with ingenious gears, and two spools. It also has a circular
401 shutter in front, and is fantastically clever. The Sulewatang
403 and Andi both said it was a great pity that he had no training.
874 He is a fine lad. He had three rolls of old newsreels and travel pictures and showed them after someone lent him a few batteries. One of the films was broken. Evidently he is called upon to show the same old films quite often and as a result they are wearing out. I was quite impressed with the Sulewatang's and Andi's strong statement regarding the lack of schools for such men here. Later I told Thierens, and he said he would see if he could not send the lad to Makassar for training. His machine really works well. He even has a wheel for a string arrangement if he gets a small motor. It reminded me of the old man in Balombaru who had made a match head cap pistol for his son and also a model Makassarese prau, with a propeller, with an auxiliary motor rigged up from an alarm clock. It could run over a hundred meters. There is certainly technical skill here that could be developed.

565 We left the party and the Sulewatang came with us to stay
574 at the local Su[illegible]ng's house (Kepala wanua Tumurun,
431 which he was [illegible]rly). This lad, a young and quite bright
156 fellow, is his [illegible]. He was going to visit the Aru Tau in Watumpone, [illegible]s wife had recently given birth to a child. The[illegible]y visit around with fellow nobles a lot, and this takes up much of their time. I tried to bring the Kepala kampong into the conversation at the Sulewatang Tumurun's house, where he was sitting to one side. However, the two uppers would not let me. They were uninterested in the Kepala kampong. This peculiar disregard for any human qualities in preference to rank is a pain to me. The old Sulewatang asked me to show him United States currency. I was sure he would want some for a souvenir. He asked me to get him a nylon shirt from the United States. I think it is because he has always been used to asking for what he could get for nothing from the poor people here. These nobles have only to ask for things from the masses and the latter dare not refuse (honor?).

1096 Incidental: The Sulewatang said that the kampong where the feast is being held was not a former fugitive kampong, as Andi had told me. But at any rate they evidently had such kampongs at one time as both of them knew about the matter.